

## Message Text

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PAGE 01 COPENH 02955 061415Z

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ACTION EUR-12

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AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

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AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

USMISSION NATO

SHAPE

CINCUER

USDOCOSOUTH

SACLANT

SECDEF

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EO 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, NATO, DA

SUBJ: ANNUAL MEETING OF ATLANTIC TREATY ASSOCIATION

SUMMARY: AT ITS ANNUAL MEETING IN COPENHAGEN,

THE ATLANTIC TREATY ASSOCIATION (ATA)

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PAGE 02 COPENH 02955 061415Z

SOUNDED A GENERALLY SOMBRE NOTE ON THE

TRENDS IN THE MILITARY BALANCE, AND  
INTERNAL CHALLENGES TO ALLIED PURPOSE  
AND COHESION. A MAJOR UNDERLYING THEME  
WAS THE NEED FOR MORE EFFECTIVE PROGRAMS  
TO INFORM PUBLICS OF THE NATURE AND  
EXTENT OF INCREASED SOVIET MILITARY  
CAPABILITIES. END SUMMARY.

1. THE ATA HELD ITS TWENTY-SECOND  
ANNUAL ASSEMBLY IN COPENHAGEN, SEPTEMBER 3-6  
THE THEME OF THE MEETING, "THREATS TO FREEDOM:  
THE ATLANTIC RESPONSE "WAS SUGGESTED BY THE  
DANISH HOSTS WITH THE INTENT OF FOCUSING  
DISCUSSION NOT ONLY ON THE MILITARY DIMENSION  
OF THE THREAT BUT ALSO ON THE BROADER  
SOCIAL, POLITICAL, AND IDEOLOGICAL CHALLENGES  
TO THE ATLANTIC COMMUNITY.

2. AT ITS OPENING PLENARY SESSION, UNDER  
THE PRESIDENCY OF ATA CHAIRMAN EUGEN  
ROSTOW, THE ASSEMBLY WAS ADDRESSED BY  
DANISH DEFENSE MINISTER MOLLER, NATO  
SECRETARY GENERAL LUNS, AND DEPUTY SACLAN  
VICE ADMIRAL JUNGUIS. THE MEETING WAS BRIEFED  
ON THE MILITARY SITUATION IN THE BALTIC BY  
MAJOR GENERAL LIND OF DENMARK AND GIVEN  
REPORT BY LORD CHALFONT AND US DEFENSE  
EXPERT NORMAN POLMAR. THESE TWO REPORTS  
WERE DISCUSSED IN THE PLENARY SESSION AND  
SERVED AS THE BASIS FOR SUBSEQUENT DEBATE  
IN THE ASSEMBLY'S POLITICAL ECONOMIC AND  
MILITARY COMMITTEES. (TEXT OF REPORTS  
POUCHED TO ALL ADDRESSEES).

3. ACCORDINGLY TO CHALFONT, WESTERN LEADERS  
WERE STRANGELY UNMOVED BY EVIDENCE OF  
AGGRESSIVE SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY, INCREASED  
SOVIET DEFENSE EXPENDITURES RESULTING IN A  
MASSIVE ACQUISITION OF BOTH  
STRATEGIC AND CONVENTIONAL MILITARY POWER,  
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AND BY THE GROWING SOVIET CAPABILITY TO PROJECT  
THIS POWER ON A GLOBAL SCALE. QUITE ASIDE  
FROM ITS DECLARED INTENTIONS,  
CHALFONT SAID, THE USSR IS  
RAPIDLY ACQUIRING A WAR-WINNING MILITARY  
CAPABILITY, UNDERLINED BY THE DEVELOPMENT  
OF AN ELABORATE CIVIL DEFENSE ORGANIZATION,  
IT WOULD BE IRRESPONSIBLE TO REJECT THE

POSSIBILITY THAT THE SOVIETS INTENT, SOONER  
OR LATER, TO FIGHT AN IMPERIALIST WAR.

4. MOREOVER, CHALFONT SAID, THE CHALLENGE  
TO WESTERN FREEDOM EXTENDED BEYOND THE CLASSICAL  
MILITARY THREAT. MOST TERROIST ACTIVITIES,  
HE NOTED, WERE DIRECTED AGAINST LIBERAL  
DEMOCRACIES. THERE IS A DISCERNIBLE SHIFT  
TO THE LEFT IN POLITICAL ATTITUDES, AND  
THOSE WHO THOUGHT THAT ITALIAN COMMUNISTS  
WERE MEN OF PRINCIPLE COMMITTED TO DEFENSE  
OF THE WEST UNDER NATO LIVED IN A  
DREAM WORLD. THERE ARE SIGNS OF A GENERAL DECLINE  
AND DEMARZLIZATION IN WESTERN SOCIETY AS  
EVIDENCED BY A TRENDY AURA OF PERMISSIVENESS  
AND UNDISCIPLINED POLICIES WHICH LEAD TO  
A DEBASEMENT OF CURRENCY. IN CASE-WEST  
ECONOMIC RELATIONS WESTERN ECONOMIC POLICIES  
ENABLED THE SOVIET SYSTEM TO ESCAPE THE  
IMMEDIATE CONSEQUENCES OF ITS OWN SHORTCOMINGS  
AND TO BE ABLE TO CONTINUE TO DEVOTE  
SUBSTANTIAL RESOURCES TO  
THE MILITARY SECTOR.

5. CHALFONT CONCUDED BY SAYING THE NEED  
TO MAINTAIN AN EAST-WEST DIALOGUE WHILE  
STILL INSISTING ON GRATER RECIPROCITY IN  
DETENTE, A COORDIKTED WESTERN POLICY  
TOWARD TEHCNOLOGICAL AND FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE  
TO THE SOVIET UNION, MAINTENANCE OF ADEQUATE  
WESTERN DEFENSE BUDGET, IMPORVED MILITARY  
STANDARDIZATION AND SPECILAIZATION,  
REASSISSMENT OF ALIANCE DEFNSIVE  
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STRATEGY, AND BORADER VISION RETARDING  
EUROPEAN POLITICAL INTRAGTION.

6. COMMITTEE DEBATD INDICATED GENERAL  
SUPPORT FOR THE MAJOR THRUST OF  
CHALFONTS ANALYSIS, DESPITE VIGOURS  
QUESTIONING AND DISSENT BY SOME SPEAKERS.  
A FEW SPEAKERS EXPRESSED THE VIEW THAT  
CHALFONT, IN HIGHLINGG THE SOVIET THREAT,  
LAID INSUFFICIENT EMPHASIS ON THE  
LONG-TIME INADEQUACIES OF WESTERN EFFORTS TO  
ADDRESS THE UNDERLYING CAUSES OF CURRENT  
WESTERN WEAKENSSES, SUCH AS ECONOMIC  
INQUITIES IN ITALY AND THE SUPPRESSION  
OF BLACK ASPIRATIONS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA,

FOR WHICH THE SOVIETS WERE NOT RESPONSIBLE.  
TURKISH SPEAKERS, IN THE ABSENCE OF GREEK  
PARTICIPANTS, ASSERTED TQT GREEK POLICIES  
WERE TO BLAME FOR DISPUTES AND WEAKENING  
OF DEFENSES IN THE SOUTH-EASTDR REGION.

7. THE THESES OF NORMAN POLMAR'S MILITARY  
REPORT WAS THAT NATO MUST URGENT TAKS  
WAS TO KEEP CONTROL OF THE SEAES. WHILE GAINING  
CONTROL OF THE SEA WOULD BE BENEFICIAL TO THE  
SOVIETS HE ARGUED, RETRINING CONTROL IS  
ESSENTIAL TO THE VIABILITY OF THE ALLIANCE.  
WESTERN LEADERS HAVE BEEN SPRPRISED BY THE  
GORWTH OF SOVIET MARITIME CAPABILITY.  
THE SOVIETS NOW HAVE THE WORLDS LARGEST  
OCEAN-GOING SURFACE NAVAL FLEET, LARGEST  
SUBMARINE FLEET, LARGEST COASTAL WARFARE  
FORCE, LARGEST MERCHANT MARCE IN NUMBER  
OF WALLS, LARGEST FISHING FLEET AND LAREST  
OCEAN RESEARCH EFFORT. ALTHOUGH US  
AND OTHER NATO NAVIES HAVE MADE  
QUALIFITIVE IMPORVEMENTS IN THEIR FORCES,  
SOVIET QUALIFTY HAS ALSO IMPROVED AND  
SOVIET SUBMARINE HAS SHIFTED TOWARD  
A CAPABILITY TO BECME A SEAA CONTROL FORCE.

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8. THIS GROWING SOVIET MARTIMIME CAPABILITY,  
POLMAR MAINTAINED REPRESVED A NEW  
DANGER TO NATO. HE CITED PARTICULARLY THE  
MODERN SOVIET ROLL-ON/ROLL-OFF SHIPS,  
FLYING MERCHANT COLORS AND THE LARGE  
SOVIET COMMITION PROGRAM FOR VEHICLE  
CARRYING SHIPS AND NAVAL LANDING CRAFT  
AS INDICATIONS OF A NEW DMINENSION OF  
CAPABILITY TO PROJECT MILITARY POWER  
ABROAD. WHLE SOVIET FORCE LEVELS COULD BE  
EXPECTED TO REMAIN RELATIVELY STABLE,  
WESTERN TRENDS MAY BE DRIVING BY SHKKING  
SHPYARD CAPACITY, HIGH PESONNEL COSTS, AND  
HIGH ENERGY COSTS, ALL TENDING TO  
REDUCE THE NUMBER OF SHIPS IN WSTERN  
NAVIES AND MERCHANT MARINE FLEET. POLMAR  
PROPOSED: (A) AN EXPANSION OF NATO'S  
OPERATIONAL BOUNDARIES TO INCLUDED AT  
LEAST SOUTHERN ATLANTIC WATERS;(B)  
SUPPORT FOR NAD EXPLOITATION BY NATO  
NAVIES OF THE REFINAL MERCHANT MARINES;  
(C) IMPROVEMENT IN NATO SUBMARINE

CAPABILITIES; (C) A CONCERTED ANALYTIC EFFORT BY NATO TO ASSESS WHAT THE SOVIETS ARE UP TO AT SEAA; (E) INCREASED NAVAL BUDGETS BY NATO ALLIES; (F) LONGER TENURE IN KEY NATO COMMAND AND STAFF BILLETS; AND (G) MORE ATTENTION TO GETTING US REINFORCEMENTS TO EUROPE WRITING THE FIRST 30 DAYS OF COFLICT.

9. COMMITTEE DISCUSSION OF POLMAR'S REPORT REVEALED WIDESPREAD SUPPORT FOR THE NEED TO RESPONDS EFFECTIVELY TO A DRAMATIC INCREASE IN SOVIET NAVAL CAPABILITIES. SPEAKERS BELEVED, HOWEVER, THAT THE REPORT DID NOT PROVIDE A CONVIN ING RATIONAL TO JUSTIY BADE OFFS FROM OTHER MILITARY FUNCTION(E.G., CONVENTIONAL LAND AND AIR FORCES) IN ORDER TO BOLSTER ALLIANCE NAVAL FORCES. WHILE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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RECOGNIZAING THE NEED FOR ALLIANCE NAVAL COOPERATION SOUTH OF THE TROPIC OF CANCER SPEAKER OTED THAT THE NGTH ATLANTIC TREATY COULD NOT PRACTIALLY BE REVISED TO EMBRACE A LARGER GEOPGRAHIC AREA. ALL RCOGNIZED, TOO THE POLITICAL SENSITIVITY OF ASSERTING A NATO PRESENCE IN AREAS UNDERGOING DIFFICULT POLICITAIL CHANGES. SPEAKERS WERE DIVIDED ON THE RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF PROTECTIN SOTH ATLANTIC SEA ROUTES TO EUROPE. AND, ALTERNATIVELY, USING ALL AVAILABLE NAVAL FORCES TO PROTECT ROUTES BETWEEN NORTH AMERICAN AND EUOPRE.

10. ASSEMBLY RESOLUTIONS, PRODUCED BY NEGOTITAION,WERE CONSIDERABLY MORE FIFFIUSE AND LESS DRAMTIC THAN THE TWO REPORTS. SALIETN POINTS INCLUDED (A) EXISTING TRENDS WOULD RESULT IN WESTERN MILITARY INPERITY IF LEFT UNCHECKED; ((B) A CALL FOR CONCERTED SAFEGUARDS AND SANCTIONS AGAINST TERRORISM; (C) A CALL FOR SOLIDARITY WITH FORCES IN THE AFFECTED NATIONS OPPOSED TO THE PARTICIPATIN OF COMMUNIST PARTIES IN ALLIED GOVERNMENTS; KD) A BALANCE PASSAGE ON GREEK-TURKISH ISSUES; (3) ON OBSERVATION THAT SOVIET PRESENCE AND ACFRIRIFIES IN THE BALTIC EXCEEDED REASONABLE DEFENSIVE REQUIREMENTS

FOR THE AREA; (F) A CALL FOR CONSULTATIONS  
AND PLANNING REGARDING THE SECURITY OF  
WESTERN TRADE UNIONS; AND (G) FINALLY,  
A STATEMENT OF THE NEED FOR INCREASED  
INFORMATION PROGRAMS WITHIN NATO TO  
MAKE PUBICS AWARE OF  
RECENT SOVIET TRENDS IN MLITARY CAPABILITIES.  
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## Message Attributes

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